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Translator's Note

The following text reproduces a major part of a long manuscript (20 closely written pages) by Xanana Gusmao.
It is not only the account of 15 years of foreign occupation since the beginning of the liberation movement, but also a critical analysis of the whole process and its main actors (and non-actors)
As much or more than the facts, this text reveals the personality of its author, convener and uncontested leader of the Timorese Resistance.

Falintil - Armed forces of East Timor's National Liberation

25 April - Liberation Movement - Marxist ideology

The Portuguese colonial regime drew its support from Fascism, and this closed society system was for the Timorese the cause of the devastating effects which followed 25 April 1974, when they were able to make a real choice between the options open to them.
In third world circumstances, filled with the enthusiasm of national liberation proclaimed by independence movements who were seeking in Marxism the violent path for a solution which the colonial powers continued obstinately to refuse, it was clear that marxist theory could attract young students, with which, regarding the particular situation of the colonised masses of East Timor, found no difficulty in enthusing themselves, suddenly having woken up from the long night of colonial fascism.

The parties which emerged, smooth-cheeked and hesitant was nothing more than the expression of a tumultuous dream of freedom, and, fatally, reflected the political inexperience of the East Timorese leaders.

The huge popular support commanded by Fretilin, is not attributable to the methods and passion inspired by Communism, but, we think, to three factors:

1. The fact that UDT had sprung up with federalist ideas with Portugal, ideas which only attracted certain traditional 'prestige' authorities, and others, who , according to our tradition, were not 'legitimate'. The colonial government actually dismissed the 'Iiurais' traditional and legitimate authorities for disobeying its laws, or non-compliance with its orders.
2. The appearance of the Social Democrat Association of East Timor answered the Maubere patriotic conscience.
3. The idea and the feeling that the time had come for the Timorese people to engage politically, in the quest for freedom which sprang up so unexpectedly, if it is to be compared with the brutal struggles of previous generations.

All the same, one can ask how it has been possible that a few young extremists changed the political scenario of East Timor so drastically. The explanation must be found only in the lack of political preparedness of the Timorese ... and the fault cannot really be blamed on us.

The incapacity of the colonial government, which itself was caught up in the convulsions of the dawning democracy (making its first steps on the shifting sands of a fervently anti-fascist leftism) lent preference, as one might have expected, to the extremism of a few opportunists who wished to appropriate to East Timor the catch-phrases of Maoist dogmatism. The breed of revolutionaries who, after having been introduced into the ASDT soon took over the reins of the movement, faced with the total ineffectiveness of the founding members, easily imposed themselves, sweeping aside the feeble attempts to oppose communist ideology and filling the political vacuum with the movement itself.

In the face of the weakness of the other party, the UDT, the crisis which had begun culminated with the break between the two nationalist parties. The control of the people became the objective of the parties, and to attain it many different means were labeled 'total practice of democracy'. The situation unleashed violence, encouraged by the excesses of the parties themselves. whose leaders rekindled ancient enmities.

It was the first few steps of a political infancy which the Portuguese leaders were unable to sooth, and whose roots were to be found in the dormant previous politicisation of the 'assimilated' (the name given to the populations of Portuguese colonies, 'assimilated as citizens of the metropolis-translator's note)

Invasion - Stability of the Zone

Civil war broke out: a way out for the weakened portuguese, and way in for the political ambitions of Jakarta. The stability of the Zone was the brutal argument put forward for strangling the right of a small and defenseless people which defied death to defend its freedom.

If the revolutionary madness of those arch-proponents of marxism, because of threats that a leftist regime represented or would represent for geo-political stability, by extra-regional reflexes pushed the Maubere people towards incalculable sufferings, it could not excuse the massacre which the invasion and the indonesian military occupation provoked in East Timor.

The politics of genocide led by the Indonesian troops of occupation sensitised the humanitarian organisations to the real sufferings of the people of East Timor, but were not able to put an end to an act to which interests, economic and others had given their full weight. (...) The notion that freedom has always been dependant upon economic interests and other powers, regional and world-wide.

East Timor, a drop of water in an ocean of great interests one of which is its oil-deposits, can only throw itself into the denunciation of the human rights abuses, a denunciation which is only contradicted by those who do not wish to prejudice their relations with Jakarta. The result is obvious - they stretch out their hands to the assassins of Jakarta and excuse them while they know full well that the Maubere people continue to be subjected to persecution, torture, imprisonment and massacre.

They claim that they are not playing politics and do not

intervene in Indonesian internal affairs, but they voice unacceptable judgments which are absurd and humiliating for our people, the proof of absolute cynicism and bad faith.

The great victories of 1978. The control of the population. The reorganisation of the struggle.

There are facts which many people believe or not, according to the ideas which they start off with, so as to justify their conclusions and the lies of Jakarta, which obstinately refuses to allow independent investigative missions to enter East Timor to assess events and the real situation. We wish to state the authentic response of the Maubere people in the wake of a brutal and shameful invasion. Nothing obliged the people to take to the hills if it was not the patriotic conscience of an entire people. After two years of denial, indicated by generalised popular resistance, the territory was subjected to massive and daily bombardments to back up the campaigns of death and destruction.

That permitted the 40 Indonesian battalions present the great strategic victories of 1978 and the total control of the population. The Maubere people, put down by force, gave itself up to the invaders who were massacring them by arms, famine and disease. The Maubere people gave in to the enemy, but it has never accepted this situation which has been imposed by force of arms against its will.

Gods' plan has willed that the opportunist extremists who taught us marxism as the true philosophy of liberation had disappeared -we retained from them and from these tragic years of the invasion, the common denominator which united us: the defence of the Maubere Land, their loyalty towards our people, and their determination to fight!

After two long years (1979-80,TN) practically occupied by the establishment of contacts and the reorganization of the population which was controlled by the enemy, and the reestablishment of contacts with other guerilla groups scattered over the territory, the armed struggle entered into a new phase of resistance.

The struggle's new direction (presided over by Xanana Gusmao himself, TN) greatly deficient at all levels, was only capable of following in the footsteps of its predecessors (which had taught us 'politics') but it had bequeathed to us in spite of everything, certain objective conditions which allowed us, in spite of all our inadequacies, to seize the reality with more lucidity. We were not capable of distancing ourselves as much as it would have been desirable from the ideology which impregnated the liberation movement, and believing that we were fulfilling our duties towards the people and the fatherland, we created the Marxist-Leninist party - Fretilin.

It is true that practical experience teaches more effectively than books, that it puts us closer into contact with reality, and that it is through this that one can distinguish truth from falsehood. We have been able, fortunately, truly to distinguish between that which serves and that which does not serve the interests of our people, that which our people actually wishes and that which it does not wish, and to know the

fundamental truths of unshakable popular resistance, discrediting the idea often broadcast of a Timorese communist resistance.

It is not a case of strategic retreat, it is more a recognition of the reality which envelops the struggle of the Maubere people. We can affirm, without contestation that it is not the fruit of pressure, because that does not, fortunately, figure, nor of the present world scenario, because that preceded it in time and conviction. The current political alignment is simply the natural consequence of the efforts which the new leaders have made to contribute to the search for a real and therefore lasting peace for East Timor.

East Timor in the International Context

It is not we Timorese, who have concocted a fantasy, as would be the idea that we would govern our own future, and which we would demand from the rest of the world. The Timorese people demands for itself laws which constitute for the modern world, norms in the relations between peoples and nations. History has always considered nationalism to be a fundamental constitutive element, nationalism has been at the origin of many wars and as a result, has formed many nations, in the world of yesterday and that of today. The history of the Maubere people also contains, from time immemorial, bloody pages which attest to its nationalism.

It is in placing itself in the context of the patriotic consciousness of peoples that one understands today , after four centuries, that one is witnessing to demonstrations rejecting the secret treaty between Hitler and Stalin, on the division of Poland and the annexation of the Baltic States. It is also within this political and emotional context that the different republics of the Soviet Union are demanding their independence. Truthfully, to the eyes of the well-intentioned, it can seem that the world is on its way to an integration of communities, and nationalism therefore appear old-fashioned and irrelevant; we think, however, that community-oriented perspectives will not wipe out regional borders and walls which mark out the inheritance and identity of a people (....) because these processes aim only to create blocs at the economic level.

In Tibet, or in Poland, in the Baltic states or in the South Pacific, in Africa or in the Caribbean, it has been proved that repression never completely suffocates what constitutes the deep-seated 'raison d'etre' of a people: the pride of being oneself, one's capacity to preserve all that identifies one, the freedom to transfer all this to future generations, in short the right to control one's own future.

Since the arrival of the Portuguese in Timor, the Timorese People has never ceased to rebel against the foreign power, and at the time of the Japanese invasion, the massacres have only been a tribute paid in the defense of its territory. The absence of leaders and the weakness brought on by tribal wars between kingdoms gradually led to Portuguese domination: this happened again after the retreat of the Japanese invaders, preventing the liberation of the Portuguese colony.

The Timorese people, because it was unaware of them, did not appeal to universal principals nor to international law: but

instead to its own patriotic conscience which would not permit the usurpation of that which it knew full well - its right to live in its own land. During these difficult years of war, the Maubere people looked back ceaselessly at the struggles of its ancestors, glorious but inconclusive, because it knew at the bottom of its soul that it was not legitimate for someone to invade and occupy its territory, nor to oppress and to massacre it on its own ground.

That was the crux of the problem of East Timor, and as long as its voice is not listened to and its legitimate aspirations are not respected, the Maubere people will continue to resist and to prefer its extermination, even if the Vatican itself contributes to this.

East Timor and Portugal

The relation between Portugal and East Timor is not confined to the moral and humanitarian plane, nor exclusively to the difference of cultural identity between the Maubere people and the Indonesians, as a result of historical relationships.

This relationship is founded on juridical and political foundations sanctioned by international law and the historical links between East Timor and Portugal nourish the Maubere personality, making it distinct, incontestable and inalienable.

It is true that Portugal has been inconsequential, but it is also true that the Portuguese constitution has conferred upon its power structures the practice of 'using every necessary action to further the self-determination and the independence of East Timor.'

The passivity and even indifference of Portugal up to 1989 is explicable by the lack of clarity on the part of Fretilin, which, however, already entered into the path of national reconciliation by modifying its political objectives, lending an national and essentially nationalistic character to the resistance of the Maubere people.

From 1986, few more favourable conditions having sprung up for Portugal in the domain of its responsibilities for East Timor and its obligations with the west, one sees more coherent actions on the part of Portugal with demands that emanate from its own constitution and in accordance with resolution 37/30 of the United Nations general assembly of 1982.

Influential Indonesian civil servants (outside East Timor, and even parliamentarians, who asked for anonymity) suggested to us that 'Portugal cannot come back to East Timor because it has abandoned the Maubere people', and they propose that East Timor be 'administered by the United Nations', and that the armed forces are 'chosen by the population.'

It is not surprising that the Indonesians continually try to reduce the problem of East Timor to a conflict purely internal to Indonesia, from which Portugal would quite simply be distanced. This suggestion clumsily uncovers a strategy of autonomy which betrays in its turn the clear plan to perpetuate the Indonesian occupation of East Timor! Excluding Portugal, one would recognise implicitly Indonesian sovereignty, since the 'United Nations administration' (attractive but unrealistic formula in as

much as the United Nations is not capable of assuming such a responsibility) authorising Indonesia to stay in East Timor as long as it is necessary for it to change the cultural heritage, and therefore the cultural identity of the Maubere People.

These same Indonesians ask how Indonesia can practice cultural genocide on East Timor given that , preserving the Portuguese names of the streets of Dili or leaving intact monuments erected by the Portuguese, they are showing their 'respect for the cultural identity of the Timorese People'. The Indonesians are surprised when we shout to the world that they are killing our soul itself! It is said that for a fist full of roupies the Indonesian sells his soul to the devil, that is why they do not understand that we have a soul - a Timorese soul, the Maubere soul which does not inhabit Bishop Medeiros street (a street in Dili carrying the name of a Portuguese bishop and symbolising here all the other streets named by the Portuguese administration, TN) nor the monuments to discoveries made in the fourteenth century ... because our soul, no one except ourselves, the Timorese, can discover it!

We would like to say to these Indonesians that we welcome their proposals for dialogue, they are a good sign, indicative that there are always possibilities of dialogue when we want them. We would also like to tackle with these Indonesians the problem of Portuguese participation - 'Portugal no longer has the right to come back to East Timor because it abandoned her' they say. It is precisely here where our disagreement lies. Even laying aside reference to the international juridical aspect expressed in resolution 37/30 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which recognises Portugal as the administrating power, we have good reasons for affirming that Portugal, because of its irresponsibility in leaving East Timor, should return and reestablish international legislation and help East Timor truly to escape from the under-development to which it has been doomed for four centuries. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Indonesian ex-minister of foreign affairs) has spoken much about the progress of the last few years (progress which, ironically, has not yet reestablished the telephone lines between Dili and the interior of the territory), but it is also for having done nothing for East Timor that we will be unable to forgive Portugal if they do not come back and face their responsibilities.

We welcome all initiatives involving contact which could help to alley fears and stimulate ideas. The Maubere people, through its legitimate representatives, is ready for frank and serious dialogue.

The exchanges underway between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN would be facilitated enormously if the Maubere people were associated with them.

We are not in disagreement with these Indonesian civil servants when they say that the armed forces should be 'chosen by the population'. This implies a referendum (which should according to us be achieved under internationally safeguarded control mechanisms). Well and good. If it is correct to think of a referendum to solve the security forces question, an entirely

internal question for the 'territory under UN administration' one could, in the light of international law, acknowledge that it is possible and necessary to conduct a popular plebiscite which would allow the Maubere people to express, without coercion of any kind its wishes and put a final end to the conflict.

Monsignor Belo is explicit in his letter to the secretary General of the United Nations that 'not to listen to the Maubere people would be the most sophisticated subjugation', and he added in a message to Mgr Manuel Martins, bishop of Sétúbal: 'if the people of East Timor wish to remain linked to Portugal' it would be up to Portugal to respond to its aspirations.

It is not we, 'the bandits with no political conviction', who affirm this, it is the dear Bishop of Dili, Mgr Ximenes Belo who has finally undertaken to defend the cause of a defenseless people, faithfully interpreting the nature of this remarkable resistance.

The armed Struggle

Many people claim that the armed struggle (backed unconditionally by the people of East Timor) is hardly a way of life for a certain number of goal-less 'rebels'and who have not yet surrendered for fear of the reprisals of the occupying force.

Some people, advocates of 'peace' (in the pacifist sense of the word) have already many times waved Indonesian banners, affirming that 'the Danrem(Regional Military commander) is a Catholic and nothing will happen to you' or the intel Major is a Catholic, he goes to Mass every day and he has promised that he will not harm you. (Intel is the intelligence service of the Indonesian secret police, TN) and to make us more sensitive, they add 'if you do not make the most of things now, you will pay for it later.'

The problem is that these false prophets of peace do not know that we are quite aware that many of those who have surrendered or have been captured alive are now being fattened by the Indonesians, being provided with home and car, and more roupie notes pass through their hands than there are manioc leaves in the tiny vegetable gardens of the majority of the starving masses.

'Disturbers of the Peace' (name given to members of the Timorese resistance by the Indonesian authorities)) the delegate from the international Committee for the Red Cross in Jakarta calls us! .. without ideals! If humanity had not had as its primordial goal (and common) complete freedom (legitimate) for each people to enjoy in its own land as a birthright, it would not have established laws and it would not talk of rights, and still less, would the United Nations have come into being!

The Maubere people is, for many, seen in terms of figures presented to them::

-if there have been 200,000 deaths, they immediately think, like Adam Malik 'we have nevertheless saved two thirds of the population!'

-If the 30 per cent of Catholics increases rapidly to 80 per cent they console themselves by saying that at least Indonesian Islamification has contributed to the Christianisation of the

pagans.
-If they had been 40 battalions supported by tanks, planes, warships, canons and mortar, that is part of the past and what is important now is the present situation of 'total stability which allows Suharto to come to Dili 'without any special security pass' and open a scout congress.

If there were hundreds of thousands of arrests, deportations, torture, disappearances and assassinations, this is pure invention because many observers, nuncios, ambassadors, parliamentarians and journalists have come to East Timor and have not seen a single sign of this propaganda put about by those who only wish harm to befall Indonesia. (...)
-If there are hundreds of kilometers of tarmacked roads, thousands of zinc roofs shining in the sun, millions of cars these are evidence of the benefits which the military annexation has brought and the progress which has been made in East Timor; more important than some old political right (as Bill Hayden (Australian ex-ambassador to Indonesia, TN) are economic 'rights' (even the usurpation of Maubere oil by Australia and Indonesia).

It is, then, these economic rights of the East Timorese people which must be safeguarded.'

These people should think that, in a territory as small and narrow, the guerrillas, without hideouts nor foreign support would not be able to survive (14 years of continual armed confrontation is no small thing!) The essential conditions which have allowed this survival are popular participation in this resistance, in other words, the unconditional support of the East Timorese people to its resistance army. The armed struggle for freedom is nothing other than the forthright determination and desire to fight which the Maubere people continues to wish to show to the occupant, as they did in the first two years.
Falintil, which, 14 years ago, got caught up in the ill winds of division, has acquired, over the last eleven years, the real role which belongs to it and which aims solely at the defense of the land, politically independent of any party. Besides the total neutrality of the armed forces, we affirm that Falintil will not accept the slightest pressure from individuals or from parties who try to use them to suppress the opposition by 'coups d'etat' (which are still a scourge in the politics of poor countries) and will not agree to a dictatorial regime establishing itself in East Timor be it right or left wing.

Falintil will not get involved in politics, but from now on will engage in constructing a free and democratic nation, founded on respect of freedom and thought, association, expression and meeting, and on the respect of universal human rights.

A multi-party system and a market economy will be the basis of an independent East Timor, a free and non-aligned state which will keep its firm intention to join ASEAN; as a positive contribution to regional stability.

<u>The Sufferings of the People and the Church of East Timor</u>
As long as the international community remain indifferent, our sole fate is the suffering of those who are crushed by injustice, and struggle on in poverty (they are not rich because in addition

to stealing their oil, they also continually rob them of their lives.)
(X. Gusmao enumerates here various cases of human rights abuses, TN)

There is only a small minority who are privileged, for the others, the greatest privilege is to die for our country.. Privileges often have a high price: life itself. This was the case with Joao Martins, a member of the presidium of ex-Apodeti, he was privileged, with houses, cars, honours, having been head of the education service and other benefits from the word go. When the time came for him to ask himself about the real situation, all these privileges were simply taken away from him, and if that was not enough to punish the crime of waking up from the illusion of 'integration into the great Indonesian republic', he was assassinated, by poisoning ... for having avoided denouncing the human rights abuses. At least, with his own life, he paid for his freedom. (..)

But fortunately for the Maubere fatherland, and unfortunately for all those who deny the rights of the Timorese people, backing Jakarta one way or another, the people of East Timor do not struggle alone, it is not alone because it has its church by its side.

As in all initiatives which call into question social participation, they inevitably become familiar with ups and downs owing to human weakness, this difficult Maubere process will not be an exception to the rule. Whereas some priests, which one can count on the fingers of one hand, saw or still see the invasion as an act of Islamic charity which came to accelerate the growth of Christianity in East Timor, the Timorese clergy shares the suffering of the Maubere people and understands the supreme sense of sacrifice which this martyred people accept, and it especially understands the extent of the sufferings: if it doesn't struggle, it dies, it will die then struggling to defend its life.

It is often insisted that the role of the Church is limited to denouncing human rights violations because the Church does not involve itself in politics. The problem is that (...) the violation of human rights has a basis which it is indispensible to remember, and not to do so is tantamount to allowing the barbarity to continue. (...)

If, around the world, many cast doubt on dear Mgr Costa Lopez when he affirmed that 'it is the duty of the Church to speak out because in East Timor, no-one, if not the church can speak without exposing themselves to the brutalities of the invaders'. It is time, we think, to recognise the validity of this affirmation.

Mgr Belo, Bishop of Dili, has described in the same words a situation which, six years later, is exactly the same ...(..)

Solution - Dialogue for Peace

A solution for East Timor must be identified with peace. But there are many definitions of peace.
Peace for General Yusuf, should result in a dialogue with the

guerrillas.
Peace for Catholic Benny Murdani means wiping out the guerrillas.
Peace for Mochtar would be that Portugal changes its constitution.
Peace for Mgr Pablo Puente, was the expatriation of the guerrillas.
Peace for Mgr Canalini would be to accept surrender for a quiet life.
Peace for Australia would be an agreement with Jakarta for the export of oil from East Timor's sea platform.
Peace for governor Mario Carrascalao would be the Christmas present that the Indonesians promised him in 1988, but which they haven't yet brought to Dili, perhaps because they are looking for more political and diplomatic backing.
Peace for Ali Alatas, would be the implicit recognition of integration by the Vatican, begun by the Pope's visit, the conversion to Islam of Christians and human rights abuses.
Peace for East Timor! Our people have begged the Virgin for peace. Our people believe in peace, they desire it and they work to attain it. Our people believe that a real and lasting peace can be had in East Timor. The world rejoices at consensuses reached for peaceful solutions: for political solutions - Iran-Iraq, Namibia and Nicaragua(with the participation of the archbishop of Managua, Mgr Obando y Bravo), the processes underway in Angola and Mozambique, here also involving the mediation of church representatives, and we suppose only with the participation of Catholic Bishops) in Ethiopia, Sudan, Cambodia, Afghanistan, El Salvador (with the mediation of the Church once again) the efforts to resolve the Palestine problem, the proposal of a referendum for the western sahara, Pretoria willing to make reforms, the current attitude of the deputies in the Lebanese parliament, Christians and Muslims, united at present in Saudi Arabia to find a political platform capable of putting an end to the destruction of a devastated land, all this reveals that the world, governments and politicians understand that dialogue is the best way to resolve differences and conflicts, and that peace can and must come out of dialogue.

The conflict in East Timor is not an internal problem to Indonesia. The Indonesian invasion was an act of armed aggression which contravenes the principle of the inviolability of borders. The military occupation of East Timor contradicts norms which reject the use of force to resolve differences. The annexation of East Timor by force, contradicts the universal principle of the autonomy of peoples. The farce of integration of July 1976 does not respect norms established for the decolonization of non-autonomous territories.

Arbitrary arrests, shadowing and indiscriminate massacres are actions which go contrary to the Geneva Convention for lands under military occupation, and represent a total and intolerable lack of respect for the fundamental rights of people.

The resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations Security Council do not recognise the integration and condemn the treacherous and shameful act of the invasion and occupation of East Timor.

The occupation of East Timor is therefore an 'illegal, immoral and totally unacceptable' act (as Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the Portuguese minister of foreign affairs has just strongly underlined in front of the current General Assembly of the United Nations.

Indonesia has received assistance of all types with which to massacre the Maubere people and annex East Timor. Great economic and strategic interests have allowed Indonesia to gain diplomatic support, with the help also of Muslim countries. Jakarta has managed, thanks to its numerous resources to pressure even countries who have traditionally supported the right to self-determination and the independence of peoples. Jakarta has been able, with skill and perseverance to convince the Vatican to put aside the question of human rights abuses and visit Indonesia- and East Timor - with an attitude of implicit recognition of the criminal annexation of the territory. Ali Alatas has been anxious to interpret this way in the face of public opinion, the attitude of the Holy Father ... whereas the Maubere people have been expressing the hope that it places in his holiness.

A true and lasting peace is not possible unless one listens to the wishes of the Maubere People.

Mgr Ximenes Belo, as head of the Church in East Timor, has already announced his approval of a referendum which would express the will of the Maubere people.

The achievement of a referendum presupposes:

1. First of all a cessation of hostilities.
2. The adoption of international juridical mechanisms with which to verify, control and guarantee the process.
3. Respect for the supreme aspirations of the people of East Timor expressed in free and democratic conditions.

We unreservedly support the proposal of our Bishop, the Bishop of Dili, Mgr. Belo. And we add, to put a final end to any doubt that can still exist, that if the Maubere people, under the supervision of the international community, 'reaffirm' their desire for integration with Indonesia, we, the guerrillas of Falintil, will put down our arms without hesitation or delay. We are even, as those responsible for the resistance, ready to be imprisoned in Cipinang prison for the rest of our lives and will accept subjugation to all the kinds of torture that those thousands of Timorese who would have the misfortune to place their confidence in 'bandits, disturbers of the Indonesian peace' will be subjected.

Since the Secretary-General of the United Nations proposed to Morocco and to Polisario a referendum on the Western Sahara, we thing that this formula cannot be considered a novelty, nor impossible for East Timor.

The Indonesian minister for foreign affairs, Ali Alatas, has rejected out of hand Mgr Ximenes Belo's proposal, affirming that this act had already taken place in 1976, whereas 90 per cent of the population were in the hills in the resistance. But Ali Alatas, in his speech at the General Assembly of the United Nations, which is drawing to a close at the moment, did not reply

to Portuguese arguments which defended the right of the Maubere people to self-determination and to national independence. It could be said that Ali Alatas did not wish to lend importance to this case (which he considers 'internal ' to Indonesia) but this would be too simplistic). Jakarta knows quite well that East Timor continues to exert an influence on the image of Indonesia externally and above all, affects its ambitions to expand beyond the regional level. After the Belgrade summit, President Suharto complained of not having been able (for the third time) to obtain consensus on his candidature for the presidency of the Non-aligned movement. The Indonesian president and his minister for Foreign affairs must recognise that Maubere flesh and blood is not as 'internal' and insignificant as they claim. All the same, if even the Vatican gives in and gives the Jakartan diplomats a breathing space, it is difficult to foresee any hope of peace for East Timor.

Being legitimate, not only in situating itself within a context of self-defense and response to an armed invasion and military occupation, but also to assume a juridical character which comes from law and international norms, the armed opposition(which we have taken up for 14 years) is simply the response which has been needed due to the lack of any other form of struggle.

We recognise that previous leaders demonstrated unreasonable radicalism in 1977, in intransigently opposing any form of dialogue.

Drawing lessons from these mistakes, new leaders have proposed in a spirit of national reconciliation, dialogue as the principle in defending higher interests of the people of East Timor. We have already proved in 1983 that we are party to a dialogue if the two belligerent parties first and the others implicated, dispose themselves sincerely to seeking a just, and lasting solution acceptable to the international community.
It has always been Indonesia which has refused this dialogue.

The 'dialogue' for the murderous occupants can be summed up as follows: to present to them our demands while we surrender. And what they have done, shamefully, to the members of the armed resistance, asking them: 'Who do you want to be? A battalion commander? A civil servant? An administrator? A deputy? Where do you wish to be placed? How much do you want to earn? etc ....
Even Mgr Canalini wanted to convince us to accept this kind of 'dialogue'. As far as we are concerned, we want a serious dialogue, as the East Timorese problem is serious, and for which more than 200,000 Timorese have given their lives in opposing the military occupation of their country (...)

When one speaks of perspectives in the search for peace for East Timor, some of those who defend Jakarta's policy of genocide show disquiet [...] For such people, neither the people of East Timor nor their leaders have any capacity, even to think. The truth is that they are afraid the people of Timor will say what they want. Indonesia is also afraid of dialogue, and above all fears a referendum. Those in government in Jakarta know well that the people of Timor passionately reject Indonesia's presence. If [Foreign Minister] Ali Alatas was sure that the people had freely

chosen integration in 1976, he would not object now to consulting them, freely and democratically, under United Nations' supervision. Bishop Ximenes Belo was clear. One must listen to the people of Timor to know, obviously in the light of the law, what their real aspirations are: to maintain links with Portugal, independence, or integration with Indonesia [...] Because now "others speak in their name"! Bishop Ximenes Belo does not formally propose independence or linking with Portugal, and he does not categorically affirm that the people of East Timor do not want integration. Ali Alatas' response shows how fragile Indonesia's positions are and how empty and false its claims. [...]

We know that, above everything else, there are strategic considerations to consider, but on several occasions we have already stated our willingness to contribute to the peace and stability of the region.

Today the Timorese Resistance movement has a united and solid leadership, which includes a wide range of social and political forces and truly represents the aspirations of East Timor's people.

The leadership of the Timorese people has been forged out of past errors and rests on the principles of a Nationalist Convergence, reinforced by the support of East Timor's Catholic church and strengthened by Falintil's absolute neutrality with respect to political parties ["apartidarisme"].

Under the auspices of the United Nations' Secretary General, conversations have taken place between Portugal and Indonesia. The people of East Timor, who are the most interested party and the only ones affected by the war which Indonesia has imposed on them, have not been invited to discuss their future - merely because of the intolerance of Jakarta's political leaders. The Timorese people's representatives are ready to dialogue. The Church in East Timor has already shown that it is in a position to contribute to this dialogue [...]

We have prepared a peace plan which not only conforms to resolution 37/30 and other relevant resolutions [of the U.N.], but also takes account of current Timorese political developments.

Peace Plan

1. Conversations
   [a] The conversations sponsored by the United Nations' Secretary General take place on the following assumptions:
   - The Indonesian occupation is illegal;
   - The right of Timor's people to an authentic act of self-determination is inalienable;
   - It is urgently necessary to re-establish international law by assuring a Portuguese presence.

   [b] The following matters need to be discussed with the involvement of representatives of Timor's people:
   - Portuguese guarantees undertaken to ensure regional

stability;

- East Timor's compromises offered out of respect for the interests of neighbouring countries, and her assistance in maintaining regional peace and stability;
- Agreement in principle about how the sea bed wealth of Timor should be shared out.

2. Establishing a Peacekeeping Force

Establishment of a "peacekeeping force" or "multinational force" or even [if that should be too expensive for the United Nations] a "UN Commission" should clarify and set up feasible arrangements to achieve:

1. Armed Forces

   First phase: Withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces within a period of three to six months, and the departure of Indonesian civilians within a time to be fixed.

   Second phase: Simultaneous disarmament of the local forces armed by the occupant and the guerrillas of Falintil; the latter remain in the bush until this time.

   Third phase: Re-organisation of the army under Portugal's responsibility as the decolonising power.

2. Formation of a transitional administration, headed by the Portuguese High Commissioner, for a period of no more than 5 years.
   During this period, Portugal and East Timor will determine a date for general elections and for the return of sovereignty to Timor's people.
3. During the transition period, and under Portugal's responsibility, aid agreements will be signed with Indonesia, Australia, the European Community and other countries, in order to promote the rapid and harmonious development of East Timor's resources.
4. A Government of National Unity shall be established for a period of between 5 and 15 years, by Portugal and representatives of East Timor.

Conditions of Dialogue

It is by frank and serious dialogue that one can secure the compromises necessary to safeguard the interests of one and all. The people of East Timor know they too have obligations to the region in which they live. They will not fail to make their contribution to harmony, co-operation and good understanding with all their neighbours. As a member of the National Council of the Timorese Resistance - the leadership of Timor's people - and as Commander of Falintil, we reaffirm our readiness to contribute to a legal and peaceful process of transition in East Timor, and state that:

1. We propose a general amnesty to all those who have faithfully collaborated with the occupant, whether or not they have contributed directly or indirectly to the

constant violations of human rights;

2. All those who have served the Indonesian occupation shall have the same opportunities and rights as other citizens of East Timor;
3. No-one shall be stripped of possessions that have been obtained during the years of Indonesian occupation [except where goods have been expropriated from their legitimate owners];
4. Local people armed by the occupant shall be re-integrated into East Timor's Armed Forces;
5. The size and armament of the Army that will be formed under Portugal's responsibility will be determined by the needs of regional stability [without rejecting the idea, in the future, of dissolving the Armed Forces in order to enable East Timor to assume the status of a neutral and peaceful country as a contribution to world peace];
6. The people of East Timor will not allow East Timorese territory to be used for acts that threaten the peace and stability of neighbouring states, especially Indonesia, and will help to break up any attempt to do so;
7. We will work to re-establish relations of all kinds with other countries, provided these do not put at risk regional stability;
8. We will increase our efforts to ensure that Fretilin, a party to which we no longer belong, modifies its political objectives in order to bring these into line with the true needs and interests of East Timor;
9. We will never give up on dialogue to resolve differences with any other country, particularly with neighbouring countries.

We have always shown our complete readiness to dialogue, and have even made concessions in advance when we believe these are among obligations that the region requires. It is now for Indonesia to admit that inflexibility is not the best position to adopt [...]

Peace for East Timor can only be achieved following a responsible and realistic change in the current position of the Government in Jakarta.[...]

Signed: Leadership of the Resistance
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao,
Commander of Falintil

Headquarters of the CNRM
in East Timor, October 5 1989

[Translated from the French by Timor Link.]